

Moroccan Arabic

Moroccan Arabic (Arabic: المَغْرِبِيَّةُ الْمَعْرِبِيَّةُ^[3]) (known as Darija in Morocco) is a form of vernacular Arabic spoken in Morocco.^[3] It is part of the Maghrebi Arabic dialect continuum, and as such is mutually intelligible to some extent with Algerian Arabic and to a lesser extent with Tunisian Arabic. It has been heavily influenced mainly by the Berber languages and to a lesser extent by Latin (African Romance), Punic, Persian, French, and Spanish.

While Modern Standard Arabic is rarely spoken in daily life and is used to varying degrees in formal situations such as religious sermons, books, newspapers, government communications, news broadcasts or political talkshows, Moroccan Arabic is the spoken common language of Morocco, and has a strong presence in Moroccan television entertainment, cinema and commercial advertising.

Sahrawi Hassaniya Arabic spoken in the disputed Moroccan-occupied Western Sahara is usually considered as a separate spoken Arabic variety.

Moroccan Arabic has many regional dialects and accents as well. Its mainstream dialect is the one used in Casablanca, Rabat and Fez and therefore it dominates the media eclipsing the other regional dialects like the ones spoken in Tangiers and Oujda.

It is spoken as a first language by about 50% to 75% of Morocco's population. The other half speaks one of the Tamazight languages. Educated Moroccan Tamazight-speakers can communicate in mainstream Moroccan Arabic.

Moroccan Arabic	
الدارجة	Darija
Pronunciation	[dæriʒæ]
Native to	Morocco
Native speakers	30.551 million (2014) ^[1]
Language family	Afro-Asiatic <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Semitic ▪ Central Semitic ▪ Arabic ▪ Maghrebi Arabic ▪ Moroccan Arabic
Writing system	Arabic alphabet
Language codes	
ISO 639-3	ary
Glottolog	moro1292 (http://glottolog.org/resource/language/id/moro1292) ^[2]

Contents

Dialects

- Pre-Hilalian dialects
- Hilalian dialects

Phonology

- Vowels
- Consonants

Writing

Vocabulary

- Substrates
- Vocabulary and loanwords

Grammar

Verbs

- Introduction
- Past tense
- Present tense
- Other tenses
- Negation

In detail

- Table of verb forms
- Sample Paradigms of Strong Verbs
 - Regular verb, form I, fʕel/yfʕel
 - Regular verb, form I, fʕel/yfʕel, assimilation-triggering consonant
 - Regular verb, form I, fʕel/yfʕol
 - Regular verb, form II, feʕel/yfeʕel
 - Regular verb, form III, faʕel/yfaʕel
 - Regular verb, form Ia, tteffel/ytteffel

Sample Paradigms of Weak Verbs

- Weak , form I, fʕa/yfʕa
- Weak verb, form I, fʕa/yfʕi

Sample Paradigms of Hollow Verbs

- Hollow verb, form I, fal/yfil
- Hollow verb, form I, fal/yful

Sample Paradigms of Doubled Verbs

Doubled verb, form I, fe^نن/yfe^نن

Sample Paradigms of Doubly Weak Verbs

Paradigms of Irregular Verbs

Social features

- Evolution
- Code-switching
- Artistic expression
- Scientific production
- Newspapers
- Literature

See also

References

Bibliography

External links

Dialects

Moroccan Arabic was formed of several dialects of Arabic several belonging to two genetically different groups: pre-Hilalian and Hilalian dialects.^{[4][5][6]}



Play media

A Moroccan person from the city of Salé speaking Moroccan Arabic.

Pre-Hilalian dialects

Pre-Hilalian dialects are a result of early Arabization phases of the Maghreb, from the 7th to the 12th centuries, concerning the main urban settlements, the harbors, the religious centres (zaouias) as well as the main trade routes. The dialects are generally classified in three types: (old) urban, "village" and "mountain" sedentary and Jewish dialects.^{[5][7]} In Morocco, several pre-Hilalian dialects are spoken:

- Urban dialects of Fes, Rabat, Salé, Taza, Tétouan, Ouezzane, Chefchaouen, Tangier, Asilah, Larache, Ksar el-Kebir, Meknes and Marrakesh.^{[6][8][9]}
- Mountain dialects of the southern and western Rif can be classified in two subdialects: northern dialects (spoken by tribes of Masmouda and Ghomara descent) and southern dialects (spoken by tribes of Zenata and Sanhaja descent).^{[6][10]}
- Sedentary ("village") dialects of Zerhoun and Sefrou and their neighboring tribes (Zerahna tribe for Zerhoun; Kechtala, Behalil and Yazgha tribes for Sefrou), remnants of pre-Hilalian dialects that were more widely spoken before the 12th century.
- Judeo-Moroccan, nearly extinct but with an extensive remnant literature.

Hilalian dialects

Hilalian, or Bedouin, dialects were introduced to Morocco following the settlement of several Hilalian and Mâqilian tribes in western Morocco brought by the Berber Almohad king Yaqub Mansur.



Ethno-linguistic map of northern Morocco:
Pre-Hilalian speaking areas in purple
(Mountain Arabic) and blue (old urban,
village).

The Hilalian dialects spoken in Morocco belong to the Mâqil subgroup,^[7] a family that includes three main dialectal areas: western Morocco (Doukkala, Abda, Tadla, Chaouia, Gharb, Zaers and Sraghna), eastern Morocco (L'Oriental and the Oujda area) and western Algeria (central and western Oranie^[11]), and the southernmost Hassaniya area (southern Morocco, Western Sahara and Mauritania).^[12] Among the dialects, Hassaniya is often considered as distinct from Moroccan Arabic.

Modern urban koines are also based on the Hilalian dialects and have mainly Hilalian features.

Phonology

Vowels

One of the most notable features of Moroccan Arabic is the collapse of short vowels. Initially, short /ă/ and /ĭ/ were merged into a phoneme /ə/ (however, some speakers maintain a difference between /ă/ and /ə/ when adjacent to pharyngeal /ʃ/ and /ħ/). This phoneme (/ə/) was then deleted entirely in most positions; for the most part, it is maintained only in the position /...CəC#/ or /...CəCC#/ (where C represents any consonant and # indicates a word boundary), i.e. when appearing as the last vowel of a word. When /ə/ is not deleted, it is pronounced as a very short vowel, tending towards [a] in the vicinity of emphatic consonants, [a] in the vicinity of pharyngeal /ʃ/ and /ħ/ (for speakers who have

merged /ă/ and /ə/ in this environment), and [ə] elsewhere. Original short /ū/ usually merges with /ə/ except in the vicinity of a labial or velar consonant. In positions where /ə/ was deleted, /ū/ was also deleted, and is maintained only as labialization of the adjacent labial or velar consonant; where /ə/ is maintained, /ū/ surfaces as [ʊ]. This deletion of short vowels can result in long strings of consonants (a feature shared with Amazigh and certainly derived from it). These clusters are never simplified; instead, consonants occurring between other consonants tend to syllabify, according to a sonorance hierarchy. Similarly, and unlike most other Arabic dialects, doubled consonants are never simplified to a single consonant, even when at the end of a word or preceding another consonant.

Some dialects are more conservative in their treatment of short vowels. For example, some dialects allow /ū/ in more positions. Dialects of the Sahara, and eastern dialects near the border of Algeria, preserve a distinction between /ă/ and /ī/ and allow /ă/ to appear at the beginning of a word, e.g. /ăqs̄ ār̄/ "shorter" (standard /qs̄ ər̄/), /ăt̄ lă/ "go up!" (standard /t̄ lă/ or /t̄ lə/), /ăs̄ ḥab/ "friends" (standard /s̄ ḥab/).

Long /a/, /i/ and /u/ are maintained as semi-long vowels, which are substituted for both short and long vowels in most borrowings from Modern Standard Arabic (MSA). Long /a/, /i/ and /u/ also have many more allophones than in most other dialects; in particular, /a/, /i/, /u/ appear as [ɑ], [e], [o] in the vicinity of emphatic consonants and [q], [χ], [ʁ], [r], but [æ], [i], [u] elsewhere. (Most other Arabic dialects only have a similar variation for the phoneme /a/.) In some dialects, such as that of Marrakech, front-rounded and other allophones also exist. Allophones in vowels usually do not exist in loanwords.

Emphatic spreading (i.e. the extent to which emphatic consonants affect nearby vowels) occurs much less than in many other dialects. Emphasis spreads fairly rigorously towards the beginning of a word and into prefixes, but much less so towards the end of a word. Emphasis spreads consistently from a consonant to a directly following vowel, and less strongly when separated by an intervening consonant, but generally does not spread rightwards past a full vowel. For example, /bɪd̄-at/ [bedaṭts] "eggs" (/i/ and /a/ both affected), /t̄ʃ f aʃ-at/ [tʃ aʃæṭs] "sparks" (rightmost /a/ not affected), /d̄ r̄ ʒ-at/ [dr̄ ʒæṭs] "stairs" (/a/ usually not affected), /d̄ rb-at-u/ [dr̄ baṭsu] "she hit him" (with [a] variable but tending to be in between [ɑ] and [æ]; no effect on /u/), /t̄ʃ alib/ [tʃlib] "student" (/a/ affected but not /i/). Contrast, for example, Egyptian Arabic, where emphasis tends to spread forward and backward to both ends of a word, even through several syllables.

Emphasis is audible mostly through its effects on neighboring vowels or syllabic consonants, and through the differing pronunciation of /t/ [ṭs] and /t̄/ [t]. Actual pharyngealization of "emphatic" consonants is weak and may be absent entirely. In contrast with some dialects, vowels adjacent to emphatic consonants are pure; there is no diphthong-like transition between emphatic consonants and adjacent front vowels.

Consonants

Consonant phonemes of Moroccan Arabic^[13]

		Labial		Dental-Alveolar		Palatal	Velar	Uvular	Pharyngeal	Glottal
		plain	emphatic	plain	emphatic					
Nasal		m	(m̄)	n						
Plosive	voiceless	(p)		t	t̄		k	q		?
	voiced	b	(b̄)	d	d̄		g			
Fricative	voiceless	f	(f̄)	s	s̄	ʃ		χ	ħ	h
	voiced	v		z	z̄	ʒ		ʁ	ʕ	
Tap				r	r̄					
Approximant				l	(l̄)	j	w			

Phonetic notes:

- Non-emphatic /t/ In normal circumstances, is pronounced with noticeable affrication, almost like [ṭs] (still distinguished from a sequence of /t/ + /s/), and hence is easily distinguishable from emphatic /t̄/ which can be pronounced as [t]. However, in some recent loanwords from European languages, a non-affricated, non-emphatic [t] appears, distinguished from emphatic /t̄/ primarily by its lack of effect on adjacent vowels (see above; an alternative analysis is possible).
- /m̄ w/, /b̄ w/, /f̄ w/ are very distinct consonants that only occur geminated, and almost always come at the beginning of a word. They function completely differently from other emphatic consonants: They are pronounced with heavy pharyngealization, affect adjacent short/unstable vowels but not full vowels, and are pronounced with a noticeable diphthongal off-glide between one of these consonants and a following front vowel. Most of their occurrences can be analyzed as underlying sequences of /mw/, /fw/, /bw/ (which appear frequently in diminutives, for example). However, a few lexical items appear to have independent occurrences of these phonemes, e.g. /m̄ m̄ w-/ "mother" (with attached possessive, e.g. /m̄ m̄ wək/ "your mother").
- /p/ and /v/ occur mostly in recent borrowings from European languages, and may be assimilated to /b/ or /f/ in some speakers.
- Unlike in most other Arabic dialects (but, again, similar to Amazigh), non-emphatic /r/ and emphatic /r̄/ are two entirely separate phonemes, almost never contrasting in related forms of a word.
- /l̄/ is rare in native words; in nearly all cases of native words with vowels indicating the presence of a nearby emphatic consonant, there is a nearby triggering /t̄/, /d̄/, /s̄/, /z̄/ or /r̄/. Many recent European borrowings appear to require (l̄) or some other unusual emphatic consonant in order to account for the proper vowel allophones; but an alternative analysis is possible for these words where the vowel allophones are considered to be (marginal) phonemes on their own.

- Original /q/ splits lexically into /q/ and /g/ in many dialects (such as in Casablanca) but /q/ is preserved all the time in most big cities such as Rabat, Fes, Marrakech, etc. and all of northern Morocco (Tangier, Tetouan, Chefchaouen, etc.); for all words, both alternatives exist.
- Original /dʒ/ normally appears as /ʒ/, but as /g/ (sometimes /d/) if a sibilant, lateral or rhotic consonant appears later in the same stem: /gləs/ "he sat" (MSA /dʒalas/), /gzzar/ "butcher" (MSA /dʒazza : r/), /duz/ "go past" (MSA /dʒu : z/) like in western Algerian dialects.
- Original /s/ is converted to /ʃ/ if /ʃ/ occurs elsewhere in the same stem, and /z/ is similarly converted to /ʒ/ as a result of a following /ʒ/: /ʃəmʃ/ "sun" vs. MSA /ʃams/, /ʒuʒ/ "two" vs. MSA /zawdʒ/ "pair", /ʒaʒ/ "glass" vs. MSA /zudʒa : dʒ/, etc. This does not apply to recent borrowings from MSA (e.g. /mzaʒ/ "disposition"), nor as a result of the negative suffix /ʃ/ or /ʃi/.
- The gemination of the flap /r/ results in a trill /rr/.

Writing

Moroccan Arabic is not often written. Most books and magazines are in Modern Standard Arabic; Qur'an books are written and read in Classical Arabic, and there is no universally standard written system. There is also a loosely standardized Latin system used for writing Moroccan Arabic in electronic media, such as texting and chat, often based on sound-letter correspondences from French, English or Spanish ('sh' or 'ch' for English 'sh', 'u' or 'ou' for English 'u', etc.) and using numbers to represent sounds not found in French or English (2-3-6-7-9 used for -ب-ج-ه-ڦ).

Vocabulary

Substrates

Moroccan Arabic is characterized by a strong Berber as well as Latin (African Romance) stratum.^[14]

Following the Arab conquest, Berber languages remained widely spoken. During their Arabisation, some Berber tribes became bilingual for generations before abandoning their language for Arabic; however, they kept a substantial Berber stratum that increases from the east to the west of the Maghreb, making Moroccan Arabic dialects the ones most influenced by Berber.

More recently, the influx of Andalusi people and Spanish-speaking Moriscos (between the 15th and the 17th centuries) influenced urban dialects with Spanish substrate (and loanwords).

Vocabulary and loanwords

Most vocabulary of Moroccan Arabic language is derived from Classical Arabic and Amazigh, supplemented by French and Spanish loanwords.

There are noticeable lexical differences between Moroccan Arabic and most other Arabic languages. Some words are essentially unique to Moroccan Arabic: *daba* "now". Many others, however, are characteristic of Maghrebi Arabic as a whole including both innovations and unusual retentions of Classical vocabulary that disappeared elsewhere, such as *hbeť* "go down" from Classical *habať*. Others are shared with Algerian Arabic such as *hdeť* "talk", from Classical *hadhar* "babble", and *temma* "there", from Classical *thamma*.

There are a number of Moroccan Arabic dictionaries in existence:

- A *Dictionary of Moroccan Arabic: Moroccan-English*, ed. Richard S. Harrell & Harvey Sobelman. Washington, DC: Georgetown University Press, 1963 (reprinted 2004.)
- *Mu`jam al-fuṣḥā fil-`āmmiyah al-maghribiyah*  , Muhammad Hulwi, Rabat: al-Madaris 1988.
- *Dictionnaire Colin d'arabe dialectal marocain* (Rabat, éditions Al Manahil, ministère des Affaires Culturelles), by a Frenchman named Georges Séraphin Colin, who devoted nearly all his life to it from 1921 to 1977. The dictionary contains 60,000 entries and was published in 1993, after Colin's death.

Examples of Arabic words

- *kəlb*: dog
- *qətt*: cat
- *qərd*: monkey
- *šariʃ*: street
- *bħar*: sea
- *šəmš*: sun
- *bab*: door
- *ħayt*: wall
- *baqra/bagra*: cow

- *kol*: eat
- *fekra*: idea
- *ħob*: love
- *dhab*: gold
- *ħdid*: metal
- *iżəl*: foot
- *ras*: head
- *wžəh*: face
- *bit*: room
- *xayt*: wire
- "bn̄ty" : my daughter
- "weldi": my son
- "rajel" : man
- "mra": woman
- 'colors=red/green/bleu/yellow: *ħmar/xdər/zraq/sfar*

Examples of words inherited from Amazigh

- *Muš*: cat (orig. Amouch), pronounced [muʃ]
- *xizzu*: carrots [xizzu]
- *ħħal*: how much [tʃħæl]
- *sarout*: key
- *Takšita*: typical Moroccan dress
- *Lalla*: lady, madam
- *Henna*: grandmother (jebli and northern urban dialects) / "jeda" :southern dialect
- *Dšar* or *tšar*: zone, region [tʃɑr]
- *Neggafa*: wedding facilitator (orig. taneggaft) [nɪggafa]
- *sifet* or *sayfet*: send [s̄ɪfɪt̄]
- *Mezlot*: poor
- *sifet* or *sayfet*: send [s̄ɪfɪt̄]
- *Sebniya*: veil (jebli and northern urban dialects)
- *žaada* : carrots (jebli and northern urban dialects)
- *sarred* : synonyme of send (jebli and northern urban dialects)
- *ħlayem* : mustache
- *Awriz*: heel (jebli and northern urban dialects)
- *Tamara*: hardship, worries
- *bra*: letter
- *değya*: hurry
- *dmir*: hard work

Examples of words of French origin

- *forshita*: fourchette (fork), pronounced [fɔrʃit̄ a]
- *tonobile*: automobile (car) [t̄onobil]
- *telfaza*: télévision (television) [tlfaza]
- *radio*: radio [r ad̄ jo], *rādio* is common across most varieties of Arabic).
- *bartma*: appartement (apartment) [baʁt̄ mɑ]
- *rompa*: rondpoint (traffic circle) [r ambwa]
- *tobis*: autobus (bus) [t̄obis]
- *kamera*: caméra (camera) [kameɾa]
- *portable*: portable (cell phone) [poʁt̄abl]
- *tilifūn*: téléphone (telephone) [tilifu:n]
- *briki*: briquet (lighter) [br ike]
- *parisiana*: a French baguette, more common is *komera*, stick
- *disk*: song
- *tran*: train (train) [træ:n]

- *serbita*: serviette (napkin) [srbita]
- *tabla* : table (table) [tabla]
- *pc*:ordinateur / pc

Examples of words borrowed from Spanish

Some loans might have come through Andalusian Arabic brought by Moriscos when they were expelled from Spain following the Christian Reconquest or, alternatively, they date from the time of the Spanish Protectorate in Morocco.

- *rwida*: rueda (wheel), pronounced [rwed^əa]
- *kuzina*: cocina (kitchen) [kuzina]
- *skwila*: escuela (school) [skwila]
- *simana*: semana (week) [simana]
- *manta*: manta (blanket) [mant^əa]
- *rial*: real (five centimes; the term has also been borrowed into many other Arabic dialects) [rjæl]
- *fundo*: fondo (bottom of the sea or the swimming pool) [fund^əo]
- *karrossa*: carroza (carrosse) [karosa]
- *kurda*: cuerda (rope) [kord^əa]
- *kama* (in the north only): cama (bed) [kam^əa]
- *blassa*: plaza (place) [blasə]
- *I'banio*: el baño (toilet) [əl banjo]
- *komir* : eat (but Moroccans use the expression to name the Parisian bread) [komer]
- *Disko* : song (in the north only) [disko]
- *elmaryo* : El armario (the cupboard) [elmarjo]
- *playa* : playa (beach) [plaja]
- *mariya* : marea (water flow) [marja]
- *pasiyo* : paseo (walk) [pasijo]
- *karratera* : carretera (means highway in Spanish but used to refer to the road in Moroccan Arabic) [karatera]

Examples of words borrowed from Portuguese and German

They are used in several coastal cities across the Moroccan coast like Oualidia, El Jadida, and Tangier.

Examples of regional differences

- Now: "deba" in the majority of regions, but "druk" or "druka" is also used in some regions in the centre and south and "drwek" or "durk" in the east
- When?: "fuqaš" in most regions, "fe-waqt" in the Northwest (Tangier-Tetouan) but "imta" in the Atlantic region and "weqtaš" in Rabat region
- What?: "ašnu", "šnu" or "aš" in most regions, but "šenni", "šennu" in the north, "šnu", "š" in Fes, and "wašta", "wasmu", "waš" in the far east

Some useful sentences

Note: All sentences are written according to the transcription used in Richard Harrell, *A Short Reference Grammar of Moroccan Arabic* (Examples with their pronunciation) (<http://www.morocco-guide.com/language/useful-moroccan-phrases/>).^[15]

- *a i u* = full vowels = normally [æ i u], but [a e o] in the vicinity of an emphatic consonant or *q* ("vicinity" generally means not separated by a full vowel)
- *e* = /ə/
- *q* = /q/
- *x ġ* = /χ γ/
- *y* = /j/
- *t* = [t^s]
- *š ž* = /ʃ ʒ/
- *ħ* = /ħ ʕ/
- *d l r s t z* = emphatic consonants = /d^ə l^ə r^ə s^ə t^ə z^ə/ (*t* is not affricated, unlike *t*)

English	Western Moroccan Arabic	Northern (Jebli, Tetouani) Moroccan Arabic	Eastern (Oujda) Moroccan Arabic
How are you?	la bas?	la bas? / bi-xayr?/ kif ntina? / amandra?	la bas? / rak ḡaya / rak šbab?
Can you help me?	yemken-lek t' aweni?	teqder d' aweni? waxa d' aweni?	yemken-lek t' aweni?
Do you speak English?	waš ka-tehder lengliziya / waš ka-tedwi be-l-lengliziya?	waš ka-dehder be-l-lengliziya? / ka-tehder lengliziya?	waš tehder lengliziya?
Excuse me	smaħ-liya	smaħ-li	smaħ-liya
Good luck		lay awn / lay sehl	
Good morning		ṣbaħ l-xir / ṣbaħ n-nur	
Good night	teṣbaħ 'la xir	lay ymsik be-xer	teṣbaħ 'la xir
Goodbye	be-slama / tħallia	be-slama / be-slama f had sa'a / huwa hadak	be-slama
Happy new year		sana sa' ida	
Hello	s-salam 'alikum / as-salamu 'alaykum (Classical) / ?ahlan	as-salamu 'alaykum (Classical) / ?ahlan	s-salam 'likum
How are you doing?		la bas ('lik)?	
How are you?	ki dayer? (masculine) / ki dayra? (feminine)	kif ntin? (masculine) / kif ntina? (feminine)	ki rak?
Is everything okay?	kul-ši mezyan?	kul-ši mezyan? / kul-ši huwa hadak?	kul-ši mliħ? / kul-ši zin?
Nice to meet you		metšarħfin [mət.ʃarħ.fen]	
No thanks		la šukran	
Please	lila yxallik / 'afak	lila yxallik / lila y'izek / xayla	lila yxallik / lila y'izek
Take care	tħallia f-raqsek	tħallia	tħallia f-raqsek
Thank you very much		šukran bezzaf	
What do you do?	faš xddam? / chno taddir	škad 'ăddel? / šenni xaddam? (masculine) / šenni xaddama? (feminine) / š-ka-dexdem? / šini ka-te 'mel/ 'adal f-hyatak?	faš texdem? (masculine) / faš tħedmi? (feminine)
What's your name?	ašnu smiytek? / šu smiytek	šenni ?esmek? / kif-aš msemy nta/ntinah?	wašta smiytek?
Where are you from?	mni nta? (masculine) / mni nti? (feminine)	mnayen ntina?	min ntaya? (masculine) / min ntiya? (feminine)
Where are you going?	fin ġadi temši?	nayemmaši?/fayn maši? (masculine) / nayemmaša?/fayn mašya? (feminine)	f-rak temši? / f-rak rayah
You are welcome	la šukr 'la wažib / bla žmil	la šukr 'la wažib/maši muškil / dunya hania	la šukr 'la wažib

Grammar

Verbs

Introduction

The regular Moroccan Arabic verb conjugates with a series of prefixes and suffixes. The stem of the conjugated verb may change a bit, depending on the conjugation:

The stem of the Moroccan Arabic verb for "to write" is *kteb*.

Past tense

The past tense of *kteb* (write) is as follows:

I wrote: *kteb-t*

You wrote: *kteb-ti* (some regions tend to differentiate between masculine and feminine, the masculine form is *kteb-t*, the feminine *kteb-ti*)

He/it wrote: *kteb* (can also be an order to write; *kteb er-rissala*: Write the letter)

She/it wrote: *ketb-et*

We wrote: *kteb-na*

You (plural) wrote: *kteb-tu / kteb-tiu*

They wrote: *ketb-u*

The stem *kteb* turns into *ketb* before a vowel suffix because of the process of *inversion* described above.

Present tense

The present tense of *kteb* is as follows:

I am writing: *ka-ne-kteb*

You are (masculine) writing: *ka-te-kteb*

You are (feminine) writing: *ka-t-ketb-i*

He's/it is writing: *ka-ye-kteb*

She is/it is writing: *ka-te-kteb*

We are writing: *ka-n-ketb-u*

You (plural) are writing: *ka-t-ketb-u*

They are writing: *ka-y-ketb-u*

The stem *kteb* turns into *ketb* before a vowel suffix because of the process of *inversion* described above. Between the prefix *ka-n-*, *ka-t-*, *ka-y-* and the stem *kteb*, an *e* appears but not between the prefix and the transformed stem *ketb* because of the same restriction that produces inversion.

In the north, *you are writing*" is always *ka-de-kteb* regardless of who is addressed. This is also the case of *de* in *de-kteb* as northerners prefer to use *de* and southerners prefer *te*.

Instead of the prefix *ka*, some speakers prefer the use of *ta* (*ta-ne-kteb* "I am writing"). The coexistence of these two prefixes is from historic differences. In general, *ka* is more used in the north and *ta* in the south, some other prefixes like *la*, *a*, *qa* are less used. In some regions like in the east (Oujda), most speakers use no preverb (*ne-kteb*, *te-kteb*, *y-kteb*, etc.).

Other tenses

To form the future tense, the prefix *ka-/ta-* is removed and replaced with the prefix *ǵa-*, *ǵad-* or *ǵadi* instead (e.g. *ǵa-ne-kteb* "I will write", *ǵad-ketb-u* (north) or *ǵadi t-ketb-u* "You (plural) will write").

For the subjunctive and infinitive, the *ka-* is removed (*bǵit ne-kteb* "I want to write", *bǵit te-kteb* "I want 'you to write'").

The imperative is conjugated with the suffixes of the present tense but without any prefixes or preverbs:

kteb Write! (masculine singular)

ketb-i Write! (feminine singular)

ketb-u Write! (plural)

Negation

One characteristic of Moroccan Arabic syntax, which it shares with other North African varieties as well as some southern Levantine dialect areas, is in the two-part negative verbal circumfix /ma-...-ʃi/. (In many regions, including Marrakech, the final /i/ vowel is not pronounced so it becomes /ma-...-ʃ/.)^[16]

- Past: /kteb/ "he wrote" /ma-kteb-ʃi/ "he did not write"
- Present: /ka-y-kteb/ "he writes" /ma-ka-y-kteb-ʃi/ "he does not write"

/ma-/ comes from the Classical Arabic negator /ma/. /ʃi/ is a development of Classical /ʃayʔ/ "thing". The development of a circumfix is similar to the French circumfix *ne ... pas* in which *ne* comes from Latin *non* "not" and *pas* comes from Latin *passus* "step". (Originally, *pas* would have been used specifically with motion verbs, as in "I did not walk a step". It was generalised to other verbs.)

The negative circumfix surrounds the entire verbal composite, including direct and indirect object pronouns:

- /ma-kteb-hom-li-ʃi/ "he did not write them to me"
- /ma-ka-y-kteb-hom-li-ʃi/ "he does not write them to me"
- /ma-ʃadi-y-kteb-hom-li-ʃi/ "he will not write them to me"
- /waʃ ma-kteb-hom-li-ʃi/ "did he not write them to me?"
- /waʃ ma-ka-y-kteb-hom-li-ʃi/ "does he not write them to me?"
- /waʃ ma-ʃadi-y-kteb-hom-li-ʃi/ "will he not write them to me?"

Future and interrogative sentences use the same /ma-...-ʃi/ circumfix (unlike, for example, in Egyptian Arabic). Also, unlike in Egyptian Arabic, there are no phonological changes to the verbal cluster as a result of adding the circumfix. In Egyptian Arabic, adding the circumfix can trigger stress shifting, vowel lengthening and shortening, elision when /ma-/ comes into contact with a vowel, addition or deletion of a short vowel, etc. However, they do not occur in Moroccan Arabic (MA):

- There is no phonological stress in MA.
- There is no distinction between long and short vowels in MA.
- There are no restrictions on complex consonant clusters in MA and hence no need to insert vowels to break up such clusters.
- There are no verbal clusters that begin with a vowel. The short vowels in the beginning of Forms IIa(V), and such, have already been deleted. MA has first-person singular non-past /ne-/ in place of Egyptian /a-/.

Negative pronouns such as **walu** "nothing", **ḥta ḥaja** "nothing" and **ḥta waḥed** "nobody" can be added to the sentence without **ši** as a suffix:

- **ma-ǵa-ne-kteb walu** "I will not write anything"
- **ma-te-kteb ḥta ḥaja** "Do not write anything"
- **ḥta waḥed ma-ǵa-ye-kteb** "Nobody will write"
- **wellah ma-ne-kteb or wellah ma-ǵa-ne-kteb** "I swear to God I will not write"

Note that **wellah ma-ne-kteb** could be a response to a command to write **kteb** while **wellah ma-ǵa-ne-kteb** could be an answer to a question like **waš ǵa-te-kteb?** "Are you going to write?"

In the north, ""you are writing" is always *ka-de-kteb* regardless of who is addressed. It is also the case of **de** in *de-kteb*, as northerners prefer to use *de* and southerners prefer *te*.

Instead of the prefix *ka*, some speakers prefer the use of *ta* (*ta-ne-kteb* "I am writing"). The co-existence of these two prefixes is from historical differences. In general *ka* is more used in the north and *ta* in the south. In some regions like the east (Oujda), most speakers use no preverb:

- *ka ma-ǵadi-ši-te-kteb?*

In detail

Verbs in Moroccan Arabic are based on a consonantal root composed of three or four consonants. The set of consonants communicates the basic meaning of a verb. Changes to the vowels between the consonants, along with prefixes and/or suffixes, specify grammatical functions such as tense, person and number in addition to changes in the meaning of the verb that embody grammatical concepts such as causative, intensive, passive or reflexive.

Each particular lexical verb is specified by two stems, one used for the past tense and one used for non-past tenses, along with subjunctive and imperative moods. To the former stem, suffixes are added to mark the verb for person, number and gender. To the latter stem, a combination of prefixes and suffixes are added. (Very approximately, the prefixes specify the person and the suffixes indicate number and gender.) The third person masculine singular past tense form serves as the "dictionary form" used to identify a verb like the infinitive in English. (Arabic has no infinitive.) For example, the verb meaning "write" is often specified as *kteb*, which actually means "he wrote". In the paradigms below, a verb will be specified as *kteb/ykteb* (*kteb* means "he wrote" and *ykteb* means "he writes"), indicating the past stem (*kteb-*) and the non-past stem (also -*kteb-*, obtained by removing the prefix *y-*).

The verb classes in Moroccan Arabic are formed along two axes. The first or *derivational axis* (described as "form I", "form II", etc.) is used to specify grammatical concepts such as causative, intensive, passive or reflexive and mostly involves varying the consonants of a stem form. For example, from the root K-T-B "write" are derived form I *kteb/ykteb* "write", form II *ketteb/yketteb* "cause to write", form III *kateb/ykateb* "correspond with (someone)" etc. The second or *weakness axis* (described as "strong", "weak", "hollow", "doubled" or "assimilated") is determined by the specific consonants making up the root, especially whether a particular consonant is a "w" or "y", and mostly involves varying the nature and location of the vowels of a stem form. For example, so-called *weak* verbs have one of those two letters as the last root consonant, which is reflected in the stem as a final vowel instead of a final consonant (**ṭma/yṭmi** "throw" from R-M-Y). Meanwhile, *hollow* verbs are usually caused by one of those two letters as the middle root consonant, and the stems of such verbs have a full vowel (/a/, /i/ or /u/) before the final consonant, often along with only two consonants (**žab/yžib** "bring" from Ž-Y-B).

It is important to distinguish between strong, weak, etc. stems and strong, weak, etc. roots. For example, X-W-F is a hollow root, but the corresponding form II stem *xuwweʃ/yxuwweʃ* "frighten" is a strong stem:

- Weak roots are those that have a *w* or a *y* as the last consonant. Weak stems are those that have a vowel as the last segment of the stem. For the most part, there is a one-to-one correspondence between weak roots and weak stems. However, form IX verbs with a weak root will show up the same way as other root types (with doubled stems in most other dialects but with hollow stems in Moroccan Arabic).
- Hollow roots are trilateral roots that have *aw* or a *y* as the last consonant. Hollow stems are those that end with /-VC/ in which V is a long vowel (most other dialects) or full vowel in Moroccan Arabic (/a/, /i/ or /u/). Only trilateral hollow roots form hollow stems and only in forms I, IV, VII, VIII and X. In other cases, a strong stem generally results. In Moroccan Arabic, all form IX verbs yield hollow stems regardless of root shape: *sman* "be fat" from S-M-N.
- Doubled roots are roots that have the final two consonants identical. Doubled stems end with a geminate consonant. Only Forms I, IV, VII, VIII, and X yield a doubled stem from a doubled root. Other forms yield a strong stem. In addition, in most dialects (but not Moroccan), all stems in Form IX are doubled: Egyptian Arabic **iħmáṛṛ/yiħmáṛṛ** "be red, blush" from Ḥ-M-R.
- Assimilated roots are those where the first consonant is a *w* or a *y*. Assimilated stems begin with a vowel. Only Form I (and Form IV?) yields assimilated stems and only in the non-past. There are none in Moroccan Arabic.
- Strong roots and stems are those that fall under none of the other categories described above. It is common for a strong stem to correspond with a non-strong root but the reverse is rare.

Table of verb forms

In this section, all verb classes and their corresponding stems are listed, excluding the small number of irregular verbs described above. Verb roots are indicated schematically using capital letters to stand for consonants in the root:

- F = first consonant of root
- M = middle consonant of three-consonant root
- S = second consonant of four-consonant root
- T = third consonant of four-consonant root
- L = last consonant of root

Hence, the root F-M-L stands for all three-consonant roots, and F-S-T-L stands for all four-consonant roots. (Traditional Arabic grammar uses F- ζ -L and F- ζ -L-L, respectively, but the system used here appears in a number of grammars of spoken Arabic dialects and is probably less confusing for English speakers since the forms are easier to pronounce than those involving / ζ /.)

The following table lists the prefixes and suffixes to be added to mark tense, person, number, gender and the stem form to which they are added. The forms involving a vowel-initial suffix and corresponding stem PA_v or NP_v are highlighted in silver. The forms involving a consonant-initial suffix and corresponding stem PA_c are highlighted in gold. The forms involving no suffix and corresponding stem PA_0 or NP_0 are not highlighted.

Tense/Mood		Past		Non-Past	
Person		Singular	Plural	Singular	Plural
1st		$PA_c\text{-}\mathbf{t}$	$PA_c\text{-}\mathbf{na}$	$n(e)\text{-}NP_0$	$n(e)\text{-}NP_0\text{-}\mathbf{u/w}$
2nd	masculine	$PA_c\text{-}\mathbf{ti}$	$PA_c\text{-}\mathbf{tiw}$	$t(e)\text{-}NP_0$	$t(e)\text{-}NP_v\text{-}\mathbf{u/w}$
	feminine			$t(e)\text{-}NP_v\text{-}\mathbf{i/y}$	
3rd	masculine	PA_0	$PA_v\text{-}\mathbf{u/w}$	$y\text{-}NP_0$	$y\text{-}NP_v\text{-}\mathbf{u/w}$
	feminine	$PA_v\text{-}\mathbf{et}$		$t(e)\text{-}NP_0$	

The following table lists the verb classes along with the form of the past and non-past stems, active and passive participles, and verbal noun, in addition to an example verb for each class.

Notes:

- Italicized forms are those that follow automatically from the regular rules of deletion of /e/.
- In the past tense, there can be up to three stems:
 - When only one form appears, this same form is used for all three stems.
 - When three forms appear, these represent first-singular, third-singular and third-plural, which indicate the PA_c , PA_0 and PA_v stems, respectively.
 - When two forms appear, separated by a comma, these represent first-singular and third-singular, which indicate the PA_c and PA_0 stems. When two forms appear, separated by a semicolon, these represent third-singular and third-plural, which indicate the PA_0 and PA_v stems. In both cases, the missing stem is the same as the third-singular (PA_0) stem.
- Not all forms have a separate verb class for hollow or doubled roots. In such cases, the table below has the notation "(use strong form)", and roots of that shape appear as strong verbs in the corresponding form; e.g. Form II strong verb *d^āáyya^ā/yid^āáyya^ā* "waste, lose" related to Form I hollow verb *d^āa^ā/yid^āi^ā* "be lost", both from root D^ā-Y-^ā.

Form	Strong			Weak			Hollow	
	Past	Non-Past	Example	Past	Non-Past	Example	Past	Non-Past
I	FMeL; FeMLu	yFMeL, yFeMLu	kteb/ykteb "write", ʃr̥eb/yʃr̥eb "drink"	FMit, FMa	yFMi	r̥ma/yṛ̥mi "throw", ſra/yʃri "buy"	FeLt, FaL	yFiL
		yFMoL, yFeMLu	dxeł/ydxol "enter", sken/yškon "reside"		yFMa	nsa/ynsa "forget"		yFuL
					yFMu	ħba/yħbu "crawl"		yFaL
							FoLt, FaL	yFuL
II	FeMMMeL; FeMMLu	yFeMMMeL, yFeMMLu	beddel/ybeddel "change"	FeMMit, FeMMA	yFeMMi	werra/ywerri "show"		
	FuwweL; FuwwLu	yFuwweL, yFuwwLu	xuwwef/yxuwwef "frighten"	Fuwvit, Fuwwa	yFuwvi	luwwa/yluwwi "twist"		
	FiyyeL; FiyyLu	yFiyyeL, yFiyyLu	biyyen/ybiyyen "indicate"	Fiyit, Fiyya	yFiyi	qiyya/yqiyi "make vomit"		
III	FaMeL; FaMLu	yFaMeL, yFaMLu	s̥afer/s̥ys̥afer "travel"	FaMit, FaMa	yFaMi	qad̥a/yqad̥i "finish (trans.)", sawa/ysawi "make level"	(same as strong)	
Ia(VII)	tteFMeL; ttFeMLu	ytteFMeL, yttFeMLu	ttekteb/yttekteb "be written"	tteFMit, tteFMA	ytteFMA	tter̥ma/ytter̥ma "be thrown", ttenxa/yttenxa "be forgotten"	ttFaLit/ttFeLt/ttFaLt, ttFaL	yttFaL
		ytteFMoL, yttFeMLu	ddxeł/yddxol "be entered"					
IIa(V)	tFeMMMeL; tFeMMLu	ytFeMMMeL, ytFeMMLu	tbeddel/ytbeddel "change (intrans.)"	tFeMMit, tFeMMA	ytFeMMa	twerra/ytwerra "be shown"		
	tFuwweL; tFuwwLu	ytFuwweL, ytFuwwLu	txuwwef/ytxuwwef "be frightened"	tFuwvit, tFuwwa	ytFuwvi	luwwa/yluwwa "twist (intrans.)"		
	tFiyyeL; tFiyyLu	ytFiyyeL, ytFiyyLu	tbiyyen/ytbiyyen "be indicated"	tFiyit, tFiyya	ytFiyi	tqiyya/ytqiyya "be made to vomit"		
IIIa(VI)	tFaMeL; tFaMLu	ytFaMeL, ytFaMLu	tawen/ytawen "cooperate"	tFaMit, tFaMa	ytFaMa	tqad̥a/ytqad̥a "finish (intrans.)", thama/ythama "join forces"	(same as strong)	
VIII	FtaMeL; FtaMLu	yFtaMeL, yFtaMLu	ħtar̥em/ħtar̥em "respect", xtar̥eħ/xtar̥eħ "invent"	FtaMit, FtaMa	yFtaMi	???	FtaLit/FteLt/FtaLt, FtaL	yFtaL
IX	FMaLit/FMeLt/FMaLt, FMaL	yFMaL	ħmar̥/yħmar̥ "be red, blush", sman/ysman "be(come) fat"				(same as §)	
X	steFMeL; steFMLu	ysteFMeL, ysteFMLu	steyr̥eb/ysteyr̥eb "be surprised"	steFMit, steFMA	ysteFMI	sted̥a/ysted̥i "invite"		(same as strong)
					ysteFMA	stehza/ystehza "ridicule", stāħfa/ystāħfa "resign"		
Iq	FeSTeL; FeSTLu	yFeSTeL, yFeSTLu	t̥er̥zem/yt̥er̥zem "translate", melmel/ymelmel "move (trans.)", hernen/yhernen "speak nasally"	FeSTit, FeSTA	yFeSTi	seqs̥a/yseqs̥i "ask"		
	FiTeL; FiTLu	yFiTeL, yFiTLu	s̥ifet̥/ys̥ifet̥ "send", ritel/yritel "pillage"	FiTit, FiTa	yFiTi	tira/ytiri "shoot"		

	FuTeL; FuTLu	yFuTeL, yFuTLu	suger/ysuger "insure", sure/ysuret "lock"	FuTit, FuTa	yFuTi	rula/yruli "roll (trans.)"	
	FiSTeL; FiSTLu	yFiSTeL, yFiSTLu	bir^tʒez??? "cause to act bourgeois???", biznes??? "cause to deal in drugs"	F...Tit, F...Ta	yF...Ti	bl^tana, ybl^tani "scheme, plan", fanta/yfanti "dodge, fake", pid^tala/ypid^tali "pedal"	
Iqa(lIq)	tFeSTeL; tFeSTLu	ytFeSTeL, ytFeSTLu	t^ter^tʒem/yt^ter^tʒem "be translated", tmelmel/ytmelmel "move (intrans.)"	tFeSTit, tFeSTA	ytFeSTA	tseqs^ta/ytseqs^ta "be asked"	
	tFiTeL; tFiTLu	ytFiTeL, ytFiTLu	ts^tifet^t/yt^tifet^t "be sent", tritel/ytritel "be pillaged"	tFiTit, tFiTa	ytFiTa	ttira/yttriri "be shot"	
	tFuTeL; tFuTLu	ytFuTeL, ytFuTLu	tsuger/ytsguer "be insured", tsuret/ytssuret "be locked"	tFuTit, tFuTa	ytFuTa	trula/yrului "roll (intrans.)"	
	tFiSTeL; tFiSTLu	ytFiSTeL, ytFiSTLu	tbir^tʒez "act bourgeois", tbiznes "deal in drugs"	tF...Tit, tF...Ta	ytF...Ta	tbl^tana/ytbl^tana "be planned", tfanta/ytftanta "be dodged", tpid^tala/ypid^tala "be pedaled"	

Sample Paradigms of Strong Verbs

Regular verb, form I, fʕel/yfʕel

Example: **kteb/ykteb** "write"

Tense/Mood		Past		Present Subjunctive		Present Indicative		Future		Imperative	
Person		Singular	Plural	Singular	Plural	Singular	Plural	Singular	Plural	Singular	Plural
1st		kteb-t	kteb-na	ne-kteb	n-ketb-u	ka-ne-kteb	ka-n-ketb-u	ya-ne-kteb	ya-n-ketb-u		
2nd	masculine	kteb-ti	kteb-tiw	te-kteb	t-ketb-u	ka-te-kteb	ka-t-ketb-u	ya-te-kteb	ya-t-ketb-u	kteb	ketb-u
	feminine			t-ketb-i		ka-t-ketb-i		ya-t-ketb-i		ketb-i	
3rd	masculine	kteb	ketb-u	y-kteb	y-ketb-u	ka-y-kteb	ka-y-ketb-u	ya-y-kteb	ya-y-ketb-u		
	feminine	ketb-et		te-kteb		ka-te-kteb		ya-te-kteb			

Some comments:

- Boldface, here and elsewhere in paradigms, indicate unexpected deviations from some previously established pattern.
- The present indicative is formed from the subjunctive by the addition of /ka-/. Similarly, the future is formed from the subjunctive by the addition of /ya-/.
- The imperative is also formed from the second-person subjunctive, this by the *removal* of any prefix /t-/, /te-/, or /d-/.
- The stem /kteb/ changes to /ketb-/ before a vowel.
- Prefixes /ne-/ and /te-/ keep the vowel before two consonants but drop it before one consonant; hence singular /ne-kteb/ changes to plural /n-ketb-u/.

Example: **kteb/ykteb** "write": non-finite forms

Number/Gender	Active Participle	Passive Participle	Verbal Noun
Masc. Sg.	kateb	mektub	ketaba
Fem. Sg.	katb-a	mektub-a	
Pl.	katb-in	mektub-in	

Regular verb, form I, fʕel/yfʕel, assimilation-triggering consonant

Example: dker/ydker "mention"

Tense/Mood	Past		Present Subjunctive		Present Indicative		Future		Imperative	
Person	Singular	Plural	Singular	Plural	Singular	Plural	Singular	Plural	Singular	Plural
1st	dker-t	dker-na	n-dker	n-dekr-u	ka-n-dker	ka-n-dekr-u	ya-n-dker	ya-n-dekr-u		
2nd	masculine	dker-ti	dker-tiw	d-dker	d-dekr-u	ka-d-dker	ya-d-dker	ya-d-dekr-u	dker	dekr-u
				d-dekr-i		ka-d-dekr-i				
3rd	masculine	dker	dekr-u	y-dker	y-dekr-u	ka-y-dker	ya-y-dker	ya-y-dekr-u		
		dekr-et		d-dker		ka-d-dker				

This paradigm differs from **kteb/ykteb** in the following ways:

- /ne-/ is always reduced to /n-/.
- /te-/ is always reduced to /t-/ and then all /t-/ are assimilated to /d-/.

Reduction and assimilation occur as follows:

- Before a coronal stop /t/, /t̪/, /d/ or /d̪/, /ne-/ and /te-/ are always reduced to /n-/ and /t-/.
- Before a coronal fricative /s/, /s̪/, /z/, /z̪/ or /ʃ/, /ʃ̪/ /ne-/ and /te-/ are *optionally* reduced to /n-/ and /t-/ . The reduction usually happens in normal and fast speech but not in slow speech.
- Before a voiced coronal /d/, /d̪/, /z/, /z̪/ or /ʒ/, /ʒ̪/ /t-/ is assimilated to /d-/.

Examples:

- Required reduction /n-them/ "I accuse", /t-them/ "you accuse".
- Optional reduction /n-skon/ or /ne-skon/ "I reside", /te-skon/ or /t-skon/ "you reside".
- Optional reduction/assimilation /te-ʒber̪/ or /d-ʒber̪/ "you find".

Regular verb, form I, fɛll/yfɛl

Example: xr̪ eʒ/yxr̪ oʒ "go out"

Tense/Mood	Past		Present Subjunctive		Present Indicative		Future		Imperative	
Person	Singular	Plural	Singular	Plural	Singular	Plural	Singular	Plural	Singular	Plural
1st	xr̪ eʒ-t	xr̪ eʒ-na	ne-xr̪ oʒ	n-xer̪ ʒ-u	ka-ne-xr̪ oʒ	ka-n-xer̪ ʒ-u	ya-ne-xr̪ oʒ	ya-n-xer̪ ʒ-u		
2nd	masculine	xr̪ eʒ-ti	xr̪ eʒ-tiw	te-xr̪ oʒ	t-xer̪ ʒ-u	ka-te-xr̪ oʒ	ka-t-xer̪ ʒ-u	ya-te-xr̪ oʒ	xa-t-xer̪ ʒ-u	xr̪ oʒ
				t-xer̪ ʒ-i		ka-t-xer̪ ʒ-i		ya-t-xer̪ ʒ-i		xer̪ ʒ-u
3rd	masculine	xr̪ eʒ	xer̪ ʒ-u	y-xr̪ oʒ	y-xer̪ ʒ-u	ka-y-xr̪ oʒ	ka-y-xer̪ ʒ-u	ya-y-xr̪ oʒ	ya-y-xer̪ ʒ-u	
		xer̪ ʒ-et		te-xr̪ oʒ		ka-te-xr̪ oʒ		ya-te-xr̪ oʒ		

Regular verb, form II, feʃʃel/yfeʃʃel

Example: beddel/ybeddel "change"

Tense/Mood	Past		Present Subjunctive		Present Indicative		Future		Imperative	
Person	Singular	Plural	Singular	Plural	Singular	Plural	Singular	Plural	Singular	Plural
1st	beddel-t	beddel-na	n-beddel	n-beddl-u	ka-n-beddel	ka-n-beddl-u	ya-n-beddel	ya-n-beddl-u		
2nd	masculine	beddel-ti	beddel-tiw	t-beddel	t-beddl-u	ka-t-beddel	ka-t-beddl-u	ya-t-beddel	ya-t-beddl-u	beddel
				t-beddl-i		ka-t-beddl-i		ya-t-beddl-i		beddl-i
3rd	masculine	beddel	beddl-u	y-beddel	y-beddl-u	ka-y-beddel	ka-y-beddl-u	ya-y-beddel	ya-y-beddl-u	
		beddl-et		t-beddel		ka-t-beddel		ya-t-beddel		

Boldfaced forms indicate the primary differences from the corresponding forms of **kteb**, which apply to many classes of verbs in addition to form II strong:

- The prefixes /t-/ , /n-/ always appear without any stem vowel. This behavior is seen in all classes where the stem begins with a single consonant (which includes most classes).
- The /e/ in the final vowel of the stem is elided when a vowel-initial suffix is added. This behavior is seen in all classes where the stem ends in /-VCeC/ or /VCCeC/ (where /V/ stands for any vowel and /C/ for any consonant). In addition to form II strong,

this includes form III strong, form III Due to the regular operation of the stress rules, the stress in the past tense forms ***beddel-*** ***et*** and ***beddel-u*** differs from ***dexl-et*** and ***dexl-u***.

Regular verb, form III, faʃel/yfaʃel

Example: s ʃ afer ʃ /y s ʃ afer ʃ "travel"

Tense/Mood		Past		Present Subjunctive		Present Indicative		Future		Imperative	
Person		Singular	Plural	Singular	Plural	Singular	Plural	Singular	Plural	Singular	Plural
1st		s ʃ afer ʃ -t	s ʃ afer ʃ -na	n- s ʃ afer ʃ	n-s ʃ afr ʃ - u	ka-n- s ʃ afer ʃ	ka-n-s ʃ afr ʃ - u	ya-n- s ʃ afer ʃ	ya-n-s ʃ afr ʃ - u		
2nd	masculine	s ʃ afer ʃ -t	s ʃ afer ʃ - tiw	t-s ʃ afer ʃ	t-s ʃ afr ʃ -u	ka-t-s ʃ afer ʃ	ka-t-s ʃ afr ʃ -u	ya-t-s ʃ afer ʃ	ya-t-s ʃ afr ʃ -u	s ʃ afer ʃ	s ʃ afr ʃ - u
	feminine			t-s ʃ afr ʃ -i		ka-t-s ʃ afr ʃ -i		ya-t-s ʃ afr ʃ -i		s ʃ afr ʃ -i	
3rd	masculine	s ʃ afer ʃ	s ʃ afr ʃ -u	y- s ʃ afer ʃ	y-s ʃ afr ʃ - u	ka-y- s ʃ afer ʃ	ka-y-s ʃ afr ʃ - u	ya-y- s ʃ afer ʃ	ya-y-s ʃ afr ʃ - u		
	feminine	s ʃ afr ʃ -et		t-s ʃ afer ʃ		ka-t-s ʃ afer ʃ		ya-t-s ʃ afer ʃ			

The primary differences from the corresponding forms of ***beddel*** (shown in boldface) are:

- The long vowel /a/ becomes /a/ when unstressed.
- The /i/ in the stem /safir/ is elided when a suffix beginning with a vowel follows.

Regular verb, form Ia, tteʃʃel/ytteʃʃel

Example: tteʃʃel/ytteʃʃel "get scared"

Tense/Mood		Past		Present Subjunctive		Present Indicative		Future		Imperative	
Person		Singular	Plural	Singular	Plural	Singular	Plural	Singular	Plural	Singular	Plural
1st		tteʃʃel ʃ -t	tteʃʃel ʃ -na	n-tteʃʃel ʃ	n-ttxel ʃ -u	ka-n-tteʃʃel ʃ	ka-n-ttxel ʃ -u	ya-n-tteʃʃel ʃ	ya-n-ttxel ʃ -u		
2nd	masculine	tteʃʃel ʃ -ti	tteʃʃel ʃ - tiw	(te-)tteʃʃel ʃ	(te-)ttxel ʃ - u	ka-(te-)tteʃʃel ʃ	ka-(te-)ttxel ʃ - u	ya-(te-)tteʃʃel ʃ	ya-(te-)ttxel ʃ - u	ttxel ʃ	ttxel ʃ - u
	feminine			(te-)tteʃʃel ʃ -i		ka-(te-)tteʃʃel ʃ -i		ya-(te-)tteʃʃel ʃ -i		ttxel ʃ -i	
3rd	masculine	tteʃʃel ʃ	ttxel ʃ -u	y-tteʃʃel ʃ	y-ttxel ʃ -u	ka-y-tteʃʃel ʃ	ka-y-ttxel ʃ -u	ya-y-tteʃʃel ʃ	ya-y-ttxel ʃ -u		
	feminine	ttxel ʃ -et		(te-)tteʃʃel ʃ		ka-(te-)tteʃʃel ʃ		ya-(te-)tteʃʃel ʃ			

Sample Paradigms of Weak Verbs

Weak verbs have a W or Y as the last root consonant.

Weak , form I, fʃaʃ/yʃaʃ

Example: nsa/ynsa "forget"

Tense/Mood		Past		Present Subjunctive		Present Indicative		Future		Imperative	
Person		Singular	Plural	Singular	Plural	Singular	Plural	Singular	Plural	Singular	Plural
1st		nsi-t	nsi-na	ne-nsa	ne-nsa-w	ka-ne-nsa	ka-ne-nsa-w	ya-ne-nsa	ya-ne-nsa-w		
2nd	masculine	nsi-ti	nsi-tiw	te-nsa	te-nsa-w	ka-te-nsa	ka-te-nsa-w	ya-te-nsa	ya-te-nsa-w	nsa	nsa-w
	feminine			te-nsa-y		ka-te-nsa-y		ya-te-nsa-y		nsa-y	
3rd	masculine	nsa	nsa-w	y-nsa	y-nsa-w	ka-y-nsa	ka-y-nsa-w	ya-y-nsa	ya-y-nsa-w		
	feminine	nsa-t		te-nsa		ka-te-nsa		ya-te-nsa			

The primary differences from the corresponding forms of ***kteb*** (shown in) are:

- There is no movement of the sort occurring in ***kteb*** vs. ***ketb-***.
- Instead, in the past, there are two stems: ***nsi-*** in the first and second persons and ***nsa-*** in the third person. In the non-past, there is a single stem ***nsa***.
- Because the stems end in a vowel, normally vocalic suffixes assume consonantal form:

- Plural **-u** becomes **-w**.
- Feminine singular non-past **-i** becomes **-y**.
- Feminine singular third-person past **-et** becomes **-t**.

Weak verb, form I, fʕa/yfʕi

Example: rʕ ma/yrʕ mi "throw"

Tense/Mood		Past		Present Subjunctive		Present Indicative		Future		Imperative	
Person		Singular	Plural	Singular	Plural	Singular	Plural	Singular	Plural	Singular	Plural
1st		rʕ mi-t	rʕ mi-na	ne-rʕ mi	ne-rʕ mi-w	ka-ne-rʕ mi	ka-ne-rʕ mi-w	ya-ne-rʕ mi	ya-ne-rʕ mi-w		
2nd	masculine	rʕ mi-ti	rʕ mi-tiw	te-rʕ mi	te-rʕ mi-w	ka-te-rʕ mi	ka-te-rʕ mi-w	ya-te-rʕ mi	ya-te-rʕ mi-w	rʕ mi	rʕ mi-w
	feminine										
3rd	masculine	rʕ ma	rʕ ma-w	y-rʕ mi	y-rʕ mi-w	ka-y-rʕ mi	ka-y-rʕ mi-w	y-a-y-rʕ mi	y-a-y-rʕ mi-w		
	feminine	rʕ ma-t		te-rʕ mi		ka-te-rʕ mi		ya-te-rʕ mi			

This verb type is quite similar to the weak verb type **nsa/ynsa**. The primary differences are:

- The non-past stem has /i/ instead of /a/. The occurrence of one vowel or the other varies from stem to stem in an unpredictable fashion.
- **-iy** in the feminine singular non-past is simplified to **-i**, resulting in homonymy between masculine and feminine singular.

Verbs other than form I behave as follows in the non-past:

- Form X has either /a/ or /i/.
- Mediopassive verb forms—i.e. Ia(VIlt), IIa(V), IIIa(VI) and Iqa(IIq)—have /a/.
- Other forms—i.e. II, III and Iq—have /i/.

Examples:

- Form II: **wedda/yweddi** "fulfill"; **qewwa/yqewwi** "strengthen"
- Form III: **qadʕ a/yqadʕ i** "finish"; **dawa/ydawi** "treat, cure"
- Form Ia(VIlt): **ttensa/yttenса** "be forgotten"
- Form IIa(V): **tqeewwa/ytqeewwa** "become strong"
- Form IIIa(VI): **tqadʕ a/ytqadʕ a** "end (intrans.)"
- Form VIII: (no examples?)
- Form IX: (behaves as a strong verb)
- Form X: **stedʕ a/ystedʕ i** "invite"; but **stehza/ystehza** "ridicule", **steħħla/ysteħħla** "enjoy", **steħħya/ysteħħya** "become embarrassed", **stāħfa/ystāħfa** "resign"
- Form Iq: (need example)
- Form Iqa(IIq): (need example)

Sample Paradigms of Hollow Verbs

Hollow verbs have a W or Y as the middle root consonant. Note that for some forms (e.g. form II and form III), hollow verbs are conjugated as strong verbs (e.g. form II **feyyen/yfeyyen** "appoint" from **F-Y-N**, form III **żaweb/yżaweb** "answer" from **Z-W-B**).

Hollow verb, form I, fall/yfil

Example: **baħħ/ybiħ** "sell"

Tense/Mood		Past		Present Subjunctive		Present Indicative		Future		Imperative	
Person		Singular	Plural	Singular	Plural	Singular	Plural	Singular	Plural	Singular	Plural
1st		beħħ-t	beħħ-na	n-biħ	n-biħ-u	ka-n-biħ	ka-n-biħ-u	ya-n-biħ	ya-n-biħ-u		
2nd	masculine	beħħ-ti	beħħ-tiw	t-biħ	t-biħ-u	ka-t-biħ	ka-t-biħ-u	ya-t-biħ	ya-t-biħ-u	biħ	biħ-u
	feminine			t-biħ-i		ka-t-biħ-i		ya-t-biħ-i		biħ-i	
3rd	masculine	baħħ	baħħ-u	y-biħ	y-biħ-u	ka-y-biħ	ka-y-biħ-u	ya-y-biħ	ya-y-biħ-u		
	feminine	baħħ-et		t-biħ		ka-t-biħ		ya-t-biħ			

This verb works much like **beddel/ybeddel** "teach". Like all verbs whose stem begins with a single consonant, the prefixes differ in the following way from those of regular and weak form I verbs:

- The prefixes /t-/ , /y-/ , /ni-/ have elision of /i/ following /ka-/ or /ya-/.
- The imperative prefix /i-/ is missing.

In addition, the past tense has two stems: **beʕ-** before consonant-initial suffixes (first and second person) and **baʕ-** elsewhere (third person).

Hollow verb, form I, fallyful

Example: **ʃaf/yʃuf** "see"

Tense/Mood	Past		Present Subjunctive		Present Indicative		Future		Imperative	
Person	Singular	Plural	Singular	Plural	Singular	Plural	Singular	Plural	Singular	Plural
1st	<i>ʃef-t</i>	<i>ʃef-na</i>	<i>n-ʃuf</i>	<i>n-ʃuf-u</i>	<i>ka-n-ʃuf</i>	<i>ka-n-ʃuf-u</i>	<i>ya-n-ʃuf</i>	<i>ya-n-ʃuf-u</i>		
2nd	masculine feminine	<i>ʃef-ti</i>	<i>ʃef-tiw</i>	<i>t-ʃuf</i>	<i>t-ʃuf-u</i>	<i>ka-t-ʃuf</i>	<i>ka-t-ʃuf-u</i>	<i>ya-t-ʃuf</i>	<i>suf</i>	<i>suf-u</i>
				<i>t-ʃuf-i</i>		<i>ka-t-ʃuf-i</i>		<i>ya-t-ʃuf-i</i>		
3rd	masculine feminine	<i>ʃaf</i>	<i>ʃaf-u</i>	<i>y-ʃuf</i>	<i>y-ʃuf-u</i>	<i>ka-y-ʃuf</i>	<i>ka-y-ʃuf-u</i>	<i>ya-y-ʃuf</i>	<i>ya-y-ʃuf-u</i>	
		<i>ʃaf-et</i>		<i>t-ʃuf</i>		<i>ka-t-ʃuf</i>		<i>ya-t-ʃuf</i>		

This verb class is identical to verbs such as **baʕ/ybiʕ** except in having stem vowel /u/ in place of /i/.

Sample Paradigms of Doubled Verbs

Doubled verbs have the same consonant as middle and last root consonant, e.g. **Yabb/yihebb** "love" from H-B-B.

Doubled verb, form I, feʕʕ/yfeʕʕ

Example: **hebb/yhebb** "love"

Tense/Mood	Past		Present Subjunctive		Present Indicative		Future		Imperative	
Person	Singular	Plural	Singular	Plural	Singular	Plural	Singular	Plural	Singular	Plural
1st	<i>hebbi-t</i>	<i>hebbi-na</i>	<i>n-hebb</i>	<i>n-hebb-u</i>	<i>ka-n-hebb</i>	<i>ka-n-hebb-u</i>	<i>ya-n-hebb</i>	<i>ya-n-hebb-u</i>		
2nd	masculine feminine	<i>hebbi-ti</i>	<i>hebbi-tiw</i>	<i>t-hebb</i>	<i>t-hebb-u</i>	<i>ka-t-hebb</i>	<i>ka-t-hebb-u</i>	<i>ya-t-hebb</i>	<i>hebb</i>	<i>hebb-u</i>
				<i>t-hebb-i</i>		<i>ka-t-hebb-i</i>		<i>ya-t-hebb-i</i>		
3rd	masculine feminine	<i>hebb</i>	<i>hebb-u</i>	<i>y-hebb</i>	<i>y-hebb-u</i>	<i>ka-y-hebb</i>	<i>ka-y-hebb-u</i>	<i>ya-y-hebb</i>	<i>ya-y-hebb-u</i>	
		<i>hebb-et</i>		<i>t-hebb</i>		<i>ka-t-hebb</i>		<i>ya-t-hebb</i>		

This verb works much like **baʕ/ybiʕ** "sell". Like that class, it has two stems in the past, which are **hebbi-** before consonant-initial suffixes (first and second person) and **hebb-** elsewhere (third person). Note that /i-/ was borrowed from the weak verbs; the Classical Arabic equivalent form would be *habáb-, e.g. *habáb-t.

Some verbs have /o/ in the stem: **kohħ/ykohħ** "cough".

As for the other forms:

- Form II, V doubled verbs are strong: **yedded/yyedded** "limit, fix (appointment)"
- Form III, VI doubled verbs optionally behave either as strong verbs or similar to **hebb/yhebb**: **sʕafef/ysʕafef** or **sʕaff/ysʕaff** "line up (trans.)"
- Form VII doubled verbs behave like **hebb/yhebb**: **ttfedd/yttdedd**
- Form VIII doubled verbs behave like **hebb/yhebb**: **htemm/yhtemm** "be interested (in)"
- Form IX doubled verbs probably don't exist, and would be strong if they did exist.
- Form X verbs behave like **hebb/yhebb**: **styell/ystyell** "exploit".

Sample Paradigms of Doubly Weak Verbs

"Doubly weak" verbs have more than one "weakness", typically a W or Y as both the second and third consonants. In Moroccan Arabic such verbs generally behave as normal weak verbs (e.g. **hya/yhya** "live" from H-Y-Y, **quwwa/yquwwi** "strengthen" from Q-W-Y, **dawa/ydawi** "treat, cure" from D-W-Y). This is not always the case in standard Arabic (cf. *walā/yalī* "follow" from W-L-Y).

Paradigms of Irregular Verbs

The irregular verbs are as follows:

- **ddal/yddi** "give" (inflects like a normal weak verb; active participle **dday** or **meddi**, passive participle **meddi**)
- **3aly3i** "come" (inflects like a normal weak verb, except imperative **a3i** (sg.), **a3iw** (pl.); active participle **ma3i** or **3ay**)
- **kla/yakol** (or **kal/yakol**) "eat" and **xda/yaxod** (or **xad/yaxod**) "take" (see paradigm below; active participle **wakel**, **waxed**; passive participle **muwkul**, **muwxud**):

Tense/Mood	Past		Present Subjunctive		Present Indicative		Future		Imperative	
Person	Singular	Plural	Singular	Plural	Singular	Plural	Singular	Plural	Singular	Plural
1st	<i>kli-t</i>	<i>kli-na</i>	<i>na-kol</i>	<i>na-kl-u</i>	<i>ka-na-kol</i>	<i>ka-na-kl-u</i>	<i>ya-na-kol</i>	<i>ya-na-kl-u</i>		
2nd	masculine	<i>kli-ti</i>	<i>kli-tiw</i>	<i>ta-kol</i>	<i>ta-kl-u</i>	<i>ka-ta-kol</i>	<i>ka-ta-kl-u</i>	<i>ya-ta-kol</i>	<i>kul</i>	<i>kul-u</i>
	feminine			<i>ta-kl-i</i>		<i>ka-ta-kl-i</i>		<i>ya-ta-kl-i</i>		
3rd	masculine	<i>kla</i>	<i>kla-w</i>	<i>ya-kol</i>	<i>ya-kl-u</i>	<i>ka-ya-kol</i>	<i>ka-ya-kl-u</i>	<i>ya-ya-kol</i>	<i>ya-ya-kl-u</i>	
	feminine	<i>kla-t</i>		<i>ta-kol</i>		<i>ka-ta-kol</i>		<i>ya-ta-kol</i>		

Social features

Evolution

In general, Moroccan Arabic is one of the most innovative (in the technical sense of "least conservative") of all Arabic languages. Now, Moroccan Arabic continues to integrate new French words, even English ones due to its influence as the modern lingua franca, mainly technological and modern words. However, in recent years, constant exposure to modern Standard Arabic on television and in print media and a certain desire among many Moroccans for a revitalization of an Arab identity has inspired many Moroccans to integrate words from Modern Standard Arabic, replacing their French or Spanish or otherwise any no Arabic counterparts or even speaking in Modern Standard Arabic while keeping the Moroccan accent to sound less formal^[17]



Play media

An interview with Salma Rachid, a Moroccan singer while she speaks Moroccan Arabic.

Though rarely written, Moroccan Arabic is currently undergoing an unexpected and pragmatic revival. It is now the preferred language in Moroccan chat rooms or for sending SMS, using Arabic Chat Alphabet composed of Latin letters supplemented with the numbers 2, 3, 5, 7 and 9 for coding specific Arabic sounds, as is the case with other Arabic speakers.

The language continues to evolve quickly as can be noted by consulting the Colin dictionary. Many words and idiomatic expressions recorded between 1921 and 1977 are now obsolete.

Code-switching

Some Moroccan Arabic speakers, in the territory previously known as French Morocco, also practice code-switching. In the northern parts of Morocco, as in Tetouan & Tangier, it is common for code-switching to occur between Moroccan Arabic, Modern Standard Arabic, and Spanish, as Spain had previously controlled part of the region and continues to possess the territories of Ceuta and Melilla in North Africa bordering only Morocco. On the other hand, some Arab nationalist Moroccans generally attempt to avoid French and Spanish in their speech, consequently, their speech tends to resemble old Andalusian Arabic.

Artistic expression

There exists some poetry written in Moroccan Arabic like the Malhun. In the troubled and autocratic Morocco of the 1970s, Years of Lead, the legendary Nass El Ghiwane band wrote beautiful and allusive lyrics in Moroccan Arabic that were very appealing to the youth even in other Maghreb countries.

Another interesting movement is the development of an original rap music scene, which explores new and innovative usages of the language.

Scientific production

The first known scientific productions written in Moroccan Arabic were released on the Web in early 2010 by Moroccan teacher and physician Farouk Taki El Merrakchi, three average-sized books dealing with physics and mathematics (Example here) (<https://docs.google.com/file/d/0B7GQg9R-g5q2UlFhZlIzU3hBeWM/edit?pli=1#sthash.QAZ4ABMl.dpuf>).^[18]

Newspapers

There are now at least three [newspapers](#) in Moroccan Arabic; their aim is to bring information to people with a low level of [education](#). From September 2006 to October 2010, *Telquel* Magazine had a Moroccan Arabic edition *Nichane*. There is also a free weekly magazine that is entirely written in "standard" Moroccan Arabic: *Khbar Bladna* ('News of Our Country').

The Moroccan online newspaper *Goud* or "جود" has much of its content written in Moroccan Arabic rather than Modern Standard Arabic. Its name "Goud" and its slogan "dima nishan" (ديما نيشان) are Moroccan Arabic expressions.^[19]

Literature

Although most [Moroccan literature](#) has traditionally been written in the classical Standard Arabic, the first record of a work of literature composed in Moroccan Arabic was [Al-Kafif az-Zarhuni's al-Mala'ba](#), written in the [Marinid period](#).^[20]

See also

- [Varieties of Arabic](#)
- [Dialect continuum](#)
- [Maghrebi Arabic](#)
- [Algerian Arabic](#)
- [Tunisian Arabic](#)
- [Libyan Arabic](#)
- [Tetuani](#)

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